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ABSTRACT

This Child Development Associate (CDA) Consortium report describes the issues, recommendations, and papers discussed at the 1975 Asian American Colloquy. There were three major purposes for this colloquy: to provide selected Asian Americans with information on the philosophy and goals of CDA, to provide an opportunity for CDA and its constituents to learn about an ignored minority group, and to obtain reactions from Asian Americans to the CDA concept. It was stressed by the panel of seven participants that they were not representative of several major groups of Asian American and Pacific Island people and that their recommendations must be viewed as tentative for that reason. Topics of the seven papers submitted by the panelists are: (1) the effects of residential patterns of Asian Americans on the availability and utilization of child care centers; (2) problems of bilinguality and monolinguality; (3) early childhood education in the Asian community; (4) Asian Americans and Pacific Island Peoples; (5) early history of Asian Americans, 1850 to 1965; (6) role models for Asian American children; and (7) the portrayal of Asian Americans in the mass media. Appendices include graphs showing trends in the educational and occupational status and changes in income of five nonwhite racial groups in the state of Washington. (GO)

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COLLOQUY OF ASIAN AMERICANS

A Report

February 20-22, 1975

PS008336

Sponsored by

The Child Development Associate Consortium

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The Child Development Associate Consortium

May, 1975

The Child Development Associate Consortium is engaged in the refinement of a competency-based system for assessment and credentialing of personnel who work with young children, aged three to five, in group settings.

Because the Consortium realizes that American children come from very different cultural heritages and economic backgrounds, it has sponsored a number of colloquies made up of professionals from specific ethnic groups to find out what these professionals considered of singular importance for young children from their respective groups. These colloquies have been very useful to the Consortium in its efforts to search out all the variables needed in a truly flexible system for assessing persons qualified to work with young children.

The papers in this publication were presented by Asian Americans, a group too little heard from on the subject of cultural differences and the ensuing discontinuities inherent in their particular relationships to the mainstream of American culture. One of the striking problems brought out by this group was the extreme diversity in national background covered by the term "Asian American." The colloquy members pointed out repeatedly that they were not representative of all Asian Americans; there were no Samoans, no Korean Americans, no Pacific Islanders nor even Hawaiians on the panel, just to name a few.

Nonetheless, the members of this panel, like some of the other ethnic groups whose colloquies the Consortium has sponsored, wished to use this opportunity to educate others about the nature of the various ethnic groups from which they came, as well as to focus on specific problems of child care.

These papers which were presented in San Francisco in February, 1975, have been lightly edited by the Consortium only for clarity and typographical errors. As with the other colloquy and task force groups, the Consortium does not necessarily endorse the views presented here. However, we welcome these insights and the continuing advice and interest of these colloquy members. Their analysis of the special needs of children belonging to these very varied cultural groups is of great value to the Consortium.

C. Ray Williams
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COLLOQUY OF ASIAN AMERICANS
February 20-22, 1975

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ASIAN AMERICAN COLLOQUY

Miyako Hotel

San Francisco, California

February 20-22, 1975

THURSDAY, February 20, 1975	
1:00 - 5:00	Welcome/Introduction
	Purpose of Plans for the Meeting
	Presentations by Colloquy Participants (Ten minute presentations on designated topics)
FRIDAY, February 21, 1975	
9:00 - 12:00	Presentations (cont'd.)
	The CDA Concept Questions/Answers
12:00 - 1:30	Lunch
1:30 - 5:00	Caucus of Colloquy Participants
	*Credentialing and Community Relations Committee Meeting
SATURDAY, February 22, 1975	
9:00 - 1:30	Caucus (cont'd.)
	CDA in the Asian Community
	- Implications
	- Recommendations

*The Credentialing and Community Relations Committee of the CDAC will meet with CDA staff at this time.

INTRODUCTION

As an indication of its commitment to seek input on the special needs and distinctive cultural characteristics of a broad range of groups and to receive input on its developing credentialing procedures, The Child Development Associate (CDA) Consortium sponsored a Colloquy of Asian Americans in San Francisco, California on February 20-22, 1975.*

There were three major purposes for the Colloquy: first, to provide selected Asian Americans with information about the philosophy and goals of CDA; second, to provide an opportunity for CDA and its constituents to learn about an ignored minority group - the Asian Americans;** and third, to obtain reactions from Asian Americans to the CDA concept.

Unlike the ethnic presentations at preceding colloquies, major emphasis was given to explaining who the Asian Americans are and their histories in the United States. This emphasis was requested by the CDA staff to clarify and combat the Asian American success story syndrome perpetrated by a handful of white social scientists.

In addition, the Colloquy was structured to give CDA an opportunity to explain the competencies, assessment, and credentialing procedures of CDA and to give the Asian American participants an opportunity to question, to discuss, and to make recommendations about the CDA concept and program.

ISSUES AND CONCERNS

The Asian American representatives pointed out immediately that the term "Asian American" was a misnomer and that a more appropriate description would be "Asian American and Pacific Island People." Furthermore, the participants were not representative of the Asian American and Pacific Island People. There were no Pacific Island representatives like Samoan Americans, nor were there representatives from other sizable Asian American groups like Korean Americans. Because of the lack of adequate representation of the major AA/PI groups, the recommendations contained herein must be viewed as tentative.

Finally, there was consensus that CDA and the AA/PI communities would find continuation of an interrelationship mutually beneficial insofar as the decision-making processes are responsive to the AA/PI communities. There is a general lack of awareness about AA/PI. It is essential for CDA to commit itself to "real" responsiveness to AA/PI concerns, not to tokenism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Because the Colloquy participants felt strongly that they did not truly represent AA/PI, these recommendations are necessarily tentative and brief.

1. The Consortium should establish an AA/PI Task Force which insures adequate representation of the major AA/PI groups. Such a task force should

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* The formal program is contained in Appendix A of this report.

** For a brief bibliography, see Appendix B of this report.

receive the tentative recommendations of these participants and should make additional recommendations to the Consortium.

2. Noting the absence of AA/PI on both the Consortium staff and board, the participants recommend immediate appointments of AA/PI to the staff and election of AA/PI to the board. In addition, it was recommended that at least one AA/PI be appointed to the board on a pro tem basis until such time as permanent appointments are made.

3. The Consortium should establish a task force of visible minorities to review and recommend priorities, goals, procedures, and the like to the Consortium.

4. The Consortium should establish a personnel resource bank with special emphasis on the identification of visible minority resource people.

5. The Consortium should explicitly recognize that the term AA/PI embodies many distinct language and cultural groups.

6. Group F of the Consortium should be encouraged to take concrete action to promote change in traditional credentialing procedures.

7. The Consortium should explicitly recognize that the social environment in which the teacher operates cannot be overlooked in any effective teacher assessment system.

8. Since it is usually not feasible to match the ethnicity of the teacher to each student in a particular class, mechanisms must be found to insure that each CDA is genuinely "open" and receptive to the unique needs and backgrounds of each child.

9. The CDA Consortium should explicitly endorse the concept of cultural pluralism and, in consonance with it, recommend bilingual/bicultural programs in early childhood centers.

10. In consonance with a healthy learning environment and in keeping with the goal of cultural pluralism, the Consortium should strongly recommend (if not require) that the staff (administrative and instructional) in any recognized preschool be truly multi-ethnic.

11. In consonance with a healthy learning environment and in keeping with the goal of cultural pluralism, the Consortium recommend the explicit inclusion of attitude-learning as well as skill-learning in the goals and curriculum of early childhood education programs.

12. The Consortium should make explicit and lobby for a top priority on training programs which will train individuals to be truly open and responsive.

13. An additional top research priority should be to determine the effects of negative self-concepts of parents on their children.

14. Having reviewed the reports from the Black and Native American Colloquies, the Asian American Colloquy tentatively endorses the thrust of the recommendations and concerns expressed therein.

THE CDA ASSESSMENT SYSTEM. A number of explicit suggestions were made to the Consortium on the need for revision of "Toward an Assessment System efforts to January, 1975, the experimental manual. In addition, the Asian American Colloquy made the following tentative general recommendations:

1. Since a CDA is a multi-professional person (who has knowledge in child development, educational psychology, early childhood education, family relations, sociology, nutrition and health and other human services) the language of the manual should be written in a clear, direct, and concise style of English, without in-group professional terminology which uses certain words to connote particular concepts ("positive reinforcement" in educational psychology, for example.) The content of the manual should be expressed in everyday English and in short sentences for clarity and efficiency in communication.

2. The Consortium should recognize and make explicit the fact that language is both verbal and non-verbal.

3. Since the CDA concept is innovative, the Consortium must find a mechanism for innovation in the manual; the manual as it currently exists is much too traditional.

4. The Consortium must find a mode of presentation which does not imply exhaustiveness or hierarchial orders. As the manual currently exists, for example, there is an implication that physical safety is more important than social and/or intellectual development.

5. The Consortium must make it clear that in no case will a candidate be passed unless adjudged to be competent in areas related to multi-cultural sensitivity and concerns.

6. The Consortium should eliminate value statements such as "aesthetically pleasing," "independence," etc.

7. The family, community, and school should be intimately involved in the education of children.

APPENDIX B

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SUGGESTED ADDITIONS TO APPENDIX B

Boggs, Grace Lee. "Education: The Great Obsession," in *Education and Black Struggle: Notes from the Colonized World*. Harvard Educational Review Monographs, No. 2, 1974, pp. 67-81. (Note: Grace Lee Boggs, a Ph.D. in Philosophy, is a Chinese American and has written extensively on philosophical and social issues.)

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THE EFFECTS OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF ASIAN AMERICANS ON THE AVAILABILITY AND UTILIZATION OF CHILD CARE CENTERS

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Constituting an increasing percentage of the immigrants entering the United States, Asian American and Pacific Island peoples have been and might well be called the "New Americans." [1] While approximately 400,000 persons enter the country as immigrants each year, over 30 percent are from Asia and the Pacific Islands and the percentage is steadily climbing. Indeed, the Philippines and Korea rank second and third, respectively, among countries sending the largest numbers of immigrants to America.[2]

Unlike those pioneering Asians who braved passage across the Pacific in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, the new Asian immigrants are to a significant degree young professionals - physicians, pharmacists, nurses, accountants, educators, and the like. In spite of various obstacles they sooner or later establish homes and raise families under conditions quite different from those encountered by the earliest Asian immigrants. Beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908 against Japanese immigration, some states and the federal government passed legislation calculated to stem further immigration from Asia and to prevent those immigrants already here from marrying and raising families. Indeed, in some states anti-miscegenation laws affected Asian Americans into the late 1960's.

Nevertheless, especially in Hawaii, in states along both coasts, and in major metropolises such as the Chicago and Detroit areas, Asian Americans born here and those who have only recently immigrated, like all the immigrants before them, are copying and even establishing families. Despite the problems they encounter, the level of services in general enjoyed by Asian Americans - social services in particular - are woefully short of the felt need.[3] At both ends of the age spectrum, Asian Americans in different parts of the country fail to benefit from the types of services enjoyed by other ethnic minorities.

Senior citizens' centers and early childhood development centers, tailored to the specific needs of the individual subgroups in the Asian American family, are available - at least in limited supply - to those subgroups who may live in Hawaii or mainland neighborhoods where such subgroups are highly concentrated. Such neighborhoods are the Chinatowns in some large cities on both coasts, and the Japan Towns and Little Manilas found in a few areas on the West Coast. But elsewhere, such as in the Midwest and along the Eastern Seaboard, virtually no social services are funded for and operated by organizations specifically assisting Asian Americans. Except for the Chinese in a few Chinatowns in these regions, neither senior citizens' centers nor day care or Head Start centers exist to work with American-born Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos or the mounting numbers of Asian immigrants. This situation persists even though numerous organizations and clubs have been formed within almost all of the subgroups in the Asian American family.

To illustrate why, look at New York City and the Greater New York Area, port city and first American home for millions of immigrants, including those from Asia and the Pacific; 125,000 Asian Americans live in that metropolitan area. But only in Manhattan's Chinatown can one find a bare handful of day care centers, and these serve predominantly Chinese children. This is because Chinatown is the one neighborhood in all of New York City which, though not totally homogeneous, contains a high concentration of Chinese families and their children.[4] While the 1970 population figures for New York City included 15,000 Japanese, 4,250 Koreans, and 11,200 Filipinos, most of these Asian Americans and newer arrivals are thinly distributed throughout the rest of the almost eight million residents of New York City.[5]

The residential patterns of Filipinos living in New York City in 1970 - 12.5 per cent of whom were below the 1970 poverty level - were recently analyzed[6] using the screen of the 62 official Community Planning Districts (CPDs) into which New York City is administratively divided. One of the CPDs contains enough Filipinos to make up approximately 2.24 per cent of the total 1970 population of 7,834 persons in that CPD (embracing Lower Manhattan, the Battery, Wall Street, the Civic Center and Governor's Island). But actually only 176 Filipinos reside there and many of these are maritime personnel and their families in the Governor's Island naval complex. At most, the other CPDs include Filipinos who may make up to 4.85 per cent (55 of 1,134 persons), 1.66 per cent (58 of 3,486 persons) and .72 per cent (787 of 107,967 persons). The rest of the 58 CPDs are usually less than [illegible]ths of 1 per cent Filipino, and almost half of all CPDs are less than 1, [illegible]ns of 1 per cent.[7] The same is roughly true of the Japanese and Koreans.

At any rate, in geographic areas generally running 100,000-150,000 and more, a widely scattered Asian American population of between 50 and 500 persons will seldom be located in such a way as to make a neighborhood-based day care center seem warranted for Asian American children, especially children of only one subgroup. And yet, widely dispersed Asian American families are in need of day care centers and early childhood development programs as much as other families. Indeed, because many newly arrived Asian American families in metropolitan areas may be more isolated from each other geographically - and isolated from their neighbors by virtue of linguistic and cultural differences - it could well be argued that bilingual-bicultural day care centers and early childhood development programs are most needed and useful as a new immigrant family begins to sink roots in the American environment.

Another way of viewing this hypothesis is to recall the experience and logic leading up to the development of bilingual-bicultural programs in the elementary education curriculum offered by many public school systems. Because of language barrier problems and cultural differences, children from homes where English is not the daily spoken language did not progress in school at the rate normally expected of children the same age. A major part of one solution is to build bilingual-bicultural programs into elementary and even secondary education. The Federal Bilingual Education Act (ESEA Title VII) states that "In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide

financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs."

Unfortunately, actual Title VII funding appropriations never neared even one-half the level authorized, and a policy on elementary schools does not necessarily extend itself to early childhood development programs. But assuming the economics and politics were resolved for funding a bilingual-bicultural day care center or full day Head Start program for Asian American children, how would one overcome the problems inherent in the fact that a facility built for 60 to 120 Filipino or Korean children, as an illustration, will probably not be within the one-half mile walking distance perimeter of all the children to be served? Depending on the population density and traffic congestion of the locality, a Filipino or Korean day care facility of such a size might have to serve a community-wide service population whose children may live from one to three or more miles from the facility. Rather than require that parents and especially small children run the inconveniences and discomforts of public transportation, the concept of picking up and busing small children to and from the facility would be logical and appropriate. It is already applied in large West Coast cities such as Seattle, even though Seattle contains proportionately far more Asian Americans than urban areas contain in the Midwest and East.

But the disadvantages of such transportation arrangements for a community-wide service population are obviously the geographic distance and travel time that will be a hardship on the children and will probably tend to lessen general parent involvement and contact with the center and staff. Moreover, after-school day care would probably have to be limited to those few Asian American children who are pupils in a primary school nearby. If the facility draws upon children from families of two or more subgroups within the Asian American community, then a multi-lingual and multi-cultural staff would have to be afforded and/or trained, with additional physical facilities provided, leading to further complications. And the start-up and first year costs of purchasing, maintaining and operating a school bus or mini-buses may result in initial budget difficulties; such costs will very likely run between $12,000 and $15,000, even if some volunteer time could be arranged for driving.

Still, the ultimate advantages of a bilingual-bicultural (perhaps multi-lingual and multi-cultural) early childhood development program should not be underestimated. Trained bilingual educators, such as Child Development Associates, could work with bilingual paraprofessionals, some of whom might be the parents or relatives of the children served. Together they could help bridge the language gap confronting the child whose home language is different from that used by the English-speaking children next door. The staff could create a familiar milieu for the Asian American child while at the same time introducing the child to standard developmental subjects and American customs in a less alien atmosphere. The availability of day care center transportation might widen the choice of sites of local interest that could be visited by the Asian American children. At the same time, the center could well become a focal point for the energies and talents of the Asian American elderly, many of whom remain healthy and alert, but find their years of retirement a period of loneliness, inactivity and estrangement from the dominant culture to which they may never have completed adapted.

Apart from all of the difficulties mentioned earlier, there still exist the fundamental problems in the politics of funding which block the establishment of bilingual-bicultural early childhood development programs for Asian American children in the big cities of the Midwest and East Coast. In a service economy of scarce resources and especially during an economic recession, few budget dollars can be expected to be allocated to the Asian American minorities who constitute virtually a minority of minorities in the Midwest and East.

For example, the service needs of Blacks and the Spanish-speaking have already begun to go unmet because of dwindling commitments to the Federal antipoverty and Model Cities legislation of the mid-1960s; it is even frequently reported in the press that the service needs of Blacks and the Spanish-speaking are ignored in the utilization of the Federal General Revenue Sharing funds first made available in the early 1970s.[8] Hence, it becomes even less likely that Asian American service needs will now be addressed by any existing legislation.

Or is it? Perhaps there are other paths to the establishment of early childhood development programs for Asian American children. If so, I hope that the Asian American Colloquy and the Child Development Associate Consortium can point the way.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The New Americans Education and Employment Assistance Act," sponsored by Congresswoman Patsy T. Mink of Hawaii, proposes financial aid to States and "Gateway Cities" which become home to the 400,000 immigrants arriving each year. Since an increasing proportion of immigrants are from Asia and the Pacific, the first Capitol Hill hearings on the Bill in November, 1974, drew two dozen or more speakers from both Coasts and Hawaii, most of whom represented Asian American organizations. In the 94th Congress, First Session, the Bill is numbered H.R. 2522.

2. Data from the "1973 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service," U.S. Department of Justice. Table 6 shows 400,063 total immigrants, 30,799 of whom are from the Philippines; 22,930 from Korea.

3. From Unpublished Findings, 1975, Asian American Field Study, Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

4. From materials prepared by New York City Department of City Planning, based on 1970 Census Data, Second Count. (NYC Community Planning District 3, which includes Chinatown and Little Italy, contains 23,627 Chinese or 12.96 per cent of the District's population.)

5. See above citation.

6. Valte, Lulut, "The [New York City] Filipino Community," a paper which was part of the presentation made by Filipino Panelists for the New York State Advisory Committee (SAC) to the United States Commission on Civil Rights during SAC's July, 1974, hearings in New York City.

7. See citation in Footnote 4.

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PROBLEMS OF BILINGUALITY AND MONOLINGUALITY

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Before I get into the topic of "Problems of Bilinguality and Monolinguality" I would like to point out that the Asian American community embodies many cultures and many languages, each with its own culture-specific problems.

Since I speak Chinese and don't know any Japanese or Korean or Tagalog, I can only address the topic from the Chinese perspective and perhaps speak in general terms for other Asian cultures. I hope during our discussion in the next two days other culture-specific problems and questions will be raised by other participants. For those Asian cultures not represented in this colloquy (Koreans, Hawaiians, Samoans, Vietnamese and others), I hope their views will also be sought.

In the next few minutes I plan to identify some of the major problems relating to bilinguality and monolinguality along the following two dimensions: (1) variations within as well as between cultures, and (2) degree of polarization and duality.

(1) Variations between cultures are readily seen. For instance, Asian Americans from the Chinese culture and mainstream Americans from Western cultures have contrasting traditional and linguistic backgrounds. But there are also variations within a single culture that are easily overlooked because of stereotyping. Furthermore, as a Chinese American in Boston recently stressed, knowing China and knowing Chinatown are not the same things. There are various groups of Chinese Americans. There are foreign-born Chinese from different regions of China who do not speak the same dialect nor share the same folk customs. There are American-born Chinese who have been here for one or for many generations, and there are newly arrived immigrants. There are Chinese in America who think of themselves primarily as Chinese or even as sojourners (temporary residents), and those who consider themselves totally American. There are children of mixed marriages who may regard themselves as Chinese or American. Also there is a gap between middle-class Chinese who usually live in the suburbs and working-class Chinese who usually reside in or near the center of Chinatowns.

(2) The other dimension is the degree of polarization and duality in bilinguality. Taking the Chinese as examples, there are some Chinese in America who speak only Chinese, some only English, and some who speak both Chinese and English with varying fluency. There are those who speak English or Chinese with an accent of greater or lesser thickness. Some others may understand but not speak one language or the other. There is also the pattern of two-track bilingual communication, often seen in first generation Chinese American homes, where the parents speak to the children in Chinese and the children speak to the parents in English. In some of these cases their interchange may become quite limited and superficial, revolving around factual topics of daily life.

There are, in my view, four major problem areas of bilinguality pertaining to the Asian American community in general and the Chinese American community in particular. The first concerns cultural identity and self-concept.

These questions are often asked: Who am I? Am I Chinese or American? Should I remain Chinese or become American? A few weeks ago a Chinese father of a 14-month old baby said in a reluctant tone, "Guess we will let our son grow up as an American and speak English since we now live in this country." Sometimes there is the feeling of being neither Chinese nor American. As one Chinese community worker observed, some Chinese Americans are very ambivalent about their sense of identity. On the one hand, they say they are just American, deny anything Chinese and sometimes even look down at recent Chinese immigrants or those who are less Americanized than they are. On the other hand, they are also envious of those Chinese who know the language, understand the cultural traditions, and have stronger ties to their Chinese roots. It is my impression, both from personal experience with friends and from general observation, that many Chinese families who move from abroad to live in America permanently fall into the following pattern: the parents tend to have a "mind our own business" attitude and take a passive role in American society, yet are anxious for their children to be assimilated into the mainstream of American life. Their children often grow up speaking only English and rejecting any identity with their Chinese heritage. Then the third or fourth generation American-born Chinese tend to look back and search for their cultural origins and heritage. Either rejection of one's own cultural heritage or resistance to recognizing oneself as part of present-day American society can lead to some difficult problems in cultural identity. In recent years there has been a growing awareness of and appreciation for being bi-cultural.* Accepting cultural duality and making that a human strength is the only possible self-concept that is healthy and enriching.

Closely related to problems of cultural identity are those of ambivalence in child rearing and a generation gap in cultural values. Recently, a concerned mother asked me if she should teacher her two-year-old son, who is learning to talk, verbs in Chinese and nouns in English. Another father asked me if he should teacher his one-year-old son to speak English now and then Chinese later when the child reaches school age at six or so. It was clear to me that both of these parents have one common concern on their minds; that is, should they bring up their children as Chinese or Americans? And if their children don't speak English at home, will they be able to compete in school? Actually, learning two languages or two dialects at the same time does not seem to be a problem for the young child. My niece who just turned two is learning English from her American mother and Cantonese (a southern Chinese dialect) from her grandmother and myself. She often points to the same object for her mother to label in English and me in Cantonese, knowing very well that it has two names. In my view not only are little children capable of mastering two languages, but also the language acquisition experience can enrich conceptual learning. For example, learning to differentiate I and we in English is not exactly the same as 我 ("I") and 我們 ("We") in Chinese. In the latter, the conceptual "I" is extended to become "We" rather than changing to a different word.

Parents who are confused about their own cultural identity and what values to transmit are more likely to give ambiguous messages to their children. There

* See Charles Cheng, "No More Sojourners: The Emergence of a Chinese-American Movement, 1965-73" (unpublished paper, Harvard University, 1973).

are also conflicting messages from different adults to children. For example, a Chinese mother may say to her child, "Don't drink any apple juice when you have a cold; it is a 'cold' food,"* and the child's American nursery school teacher is likely to say, "Drink up your apple juice; it helps to fight your cold." Another source of problems is the generation gap in which the parents think of themselves primarily as Chinese and the children mostly as American. The two-track pattern of Chinese-speaking parents and English-speaking children mentioned earlier aggravates generational problems because there is less likelihood of in-depth communication between parents and children to help them confront issues and clarify differences between them in order to have better understanding.

The third problem area concerns social class differences. There are problems of a class nature in the larger society, but they constitute a double-bind in Chinese American communities (and probably in other minority communities). Perhaps this can best be illustrated by the following story. An educational TV station was working on a series of children's programs about different ethnic groups in America. One segment was about a Chinese girl living in suburban Boston. When this segment was field-tested in a West Coast Chinatown, a group of children of working-class background were asked to give their reactions. Their only comment was "She is a girl." For one thing, they didn't even understand the girl on the screen because she spoke a different dialect. Furthermore, there is little they could relate to in the girl's middle class life-style. A class gap exists between the Chinese of urban, educated background who came to America for professional training, staying on to live in middle-class neighborhoods, and those of working-class background, mostly from rural villages, who came to do manual work and often live in Chinatowns. Then there are those who were once part of the working class but have made social and economic advances, moved out of Chinatowns, and joined the middle class. There is thus a class gap between these people's present life and their former ties to working-class Chinese. There is also a class gap between this new middle-class group and the foreign-born professional group, who tend to form their own cliques and sometimes can be quite arrogant and aloof to other Chinese Americans. Finally, political orientation toward the Taiwan government or New China presents yet another gap among Chinese in America.

The fourth problem area relates to bilingual education in school programs. Not only are more bilingual programs needed to provide non-English-speaking children with the means for learning in school, but also the underlying philosophy of bilingual education should be re-examined. The purpose of bilingual education must be made explicit, especially in preschool programs which have to be less subject-oriented and more children-centered. Most, if not all, present-day bilingual programs are transitional and compensatory in nature - a remedial step for the "disadvantaged." The goals are proficiency in English and assimilation into the dominant culture. The subtle implication of this kind of bilingual education is the disregard of the Chinese (or other Asian) culture as a distinct

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* Foods are considered either "hot" or "cold" in Chinese dietary tradition, e.g., seafoods and fruits are "cold" foods while ginger and fried foods are "hot" foods. Accordingly, if one has a cold, fruit juice would chill the bodily system and thus should be avoided.

subculture in America. While American society is a diverse one with many ethnic groups, those of European origin have contributed most to the shaping of the dominant culture, while Asian Americans and other minority groups have been excluded. Thus, in a discriminatory way Asian Americans are taught not to be bicultural in school (and in society), but to be as Americanized as possible.

One can see how this attitude could create problems in self-concept and could intensify the other problems of bilinguality discussed earlier. What is needed is comprehensive bilingual education, aiming not only to provide bilingual instruction but also to include thoughtfully the minority culture in its curriculum content - and not just as a token gesture done in a patronizing way. The bilingual education issue is not so much an issue of language per se, for language is a human tool and how it is used depends on what value is attached to it. Respect and appreciation for an inclusive pluralistic society are attitudes that can be reflected in school and in society. Bilingual child care and preschool programs are still new and I hope they will be dualistic, and not compensatory, in nature.

In closing, I'd like to touch upon three thoughts I have for the CDA in the Asian American community:

(1) The CDA should be a bilingual person with a healthy, positive self-concept who appreciates being bicultural, viewing it as a strength rather than as a handicap. Only then can one serve as a model and transmit the value of cultural duality to the children.

(2) The CDA should be competent in taking the perspective of others in human relations and have a genuine respect for the child-rearing values and views of Asian cultures. Sometimes the distinction between individuation and discrimination is subtle, but it is essentially a matter of one's basic attitude toward human differences.

(3) The working relationship between the CDA and the family should not be conceived as that of provider and consumer of child care, but rather as a shared responsibility and cooperative venture for the care and education of young children.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN THE ASIAN COMMUNITY

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Introduction

Early childhood education and the Asian community is a relatively recent development and concern by the national Consortium. The problems of the divergent ethnic groups are complex and the Asian community is no exception. Several assumptions must be made clear. The assumptions apply to the following terms: education, the Asian child, and experience.

Collier in his book, *Alaska Eskimo Education*, states the assumption of education as being:

> "...a communication process - from teacher to student, from student to teacher, between student and student, and between the student and himself."

I view this assumption about education as very significant for the early childhood educator. The young child comes to this world with intense developmental abilities and the potential to acquire language in many ways. There are also great implications for bilingual education during the formative years.

Another concept which requires clarification is the Asian American or Asian child. Asian children come from many backgrounds which are determined by their cultural heritage: Chinese, Korean, Pacific Islanders, Japanese, and others.

Nontheless, the Asian child is a child. The assumption is that the Asian child is one who is able to grow and develop at his own rate and style of learning by relating to meaningful experiences which will maximize the child's potential as a unique person. The assumption is that the Asian child has the same potential as any child.

The final assumption deals with experience itself. It is assumed that acquiring experience is a transaction in space and time. In order to understand the meaning of a child's immediate encounter with a specific activity, we must first deal with the concept of experience for both the child and the teacher. The bulk of my presentation today will speak to this issue.

The Competency Areas of the CDA

The CDA Consortium has defined six large, general competency areas. Two of these appear to be most critical, in my judgment, when an ethnic child is considered. The first is the competency: "Organize and sustain the positive functioning of children and adults in a group learning environment." This competency area makes two important statements: First, "the positive functioning of children and adults." This statement implies that respect and trust must exist between the adults and children, not to mention such qualities as understanding and acceptance.

The second part of the statement refers to "a group learning environment." This infers a social order such as that of a pre-school classroom with implications that learning occurs within that group. It is this "group learning environment" that is of major concern in relation to the Asian child if there is truly to be "positive functioning between the child and the adult."

The other significant competency area is: "Build positive self-concept and individual strength." As stated above, positive functioning between adults and children is necessary. But such is hardly possible unless one can build on "positive self-concept and individual strength." For the Asian child, this is a difficult and a complex matter.

I am suggesting here that, for the Asian child, living in this country has unique problems and these problems are complicated by the multiplicity of backgrounds within the Asian community. The above-mentioned competency areas are very critical if the Asian child's experiences with teachers are to be positive, building, sustaining, and strengthening.

What Is a Child's Experience?

One of the dangers in working with the problems of a particular ethnic community is the tendency to search for the normative ethnic child. Looking at it from the early childhood perspective, we must look at the question of "What is a child's experience?" Another way to ask it is, "How can we view a child's experience?"

Using the example of a child building a castle with large blocks, to gain complete understanding of what the child is thinking and why, we need to understand that present experience is a transaction in space and time. (See the vertical lines on the diagram.) To look at a child's spatial dimension, we must know something about the personal knowledge the child brings with him - his family relationships, his parent's child-rearing practices, and his community experiences. This personal knowledge, categorized as the child's Inner Subjective Space, continually provides input into the experiences such as blockbuilding. The child's cultural influence may be quite unique and stimulatingly inventive for that blockbuilding activity. From another spectrum of the space dimension is the child's view of the Outer Objective Space or the child's view of the learning environment. Each child views his environment from his own perspective. Each child's perspective of the environment commands other materials and equipment, as well as how much time, space and human resources used. These are considered to be the Outer Objective Space that influences every immediate activity, such as the castle blockbuilding mentioned above.

Viewing the Inner Subjective and Outer Objective Space of each child with understanding and empathy is a seemingly overwhelming and never-ending task. Nonetheless, it must be done if any child, ethnic or otherwise, is to be understood, assisted, and guided toward his or her full potential as a person.

Time like space is another important dimension. The horizontal lines (see diagram) represent past, present, and future. What is occurring in the present with the "castle blockbuilding" is greatly influenced by past experiences. This is an example of what Piaget means about assimilating experiences of the past. The child is also concerned about the immediate future

aspirations to be attained. In short, what I am saying here is that both past and future need to be understood in relation to present activity.

As in the space dimension, viewing the time spectrum of past, present, and future is an overwhelming task. To understand and empathize with the child's present actions or encounters also appears to be never ceasing. However, this must be done with reasonable consistency and determination. We must never lose sight of the chance to gain a fuller understanding of the child's experience. This prioritizes the importance of the teacher* and the teacher's own experience as a transaction in space and time.

What Is the Teacher's or Facilitating Adult's Experience?

The teachers or the adults who are responsible to the children are also experiencing themselves in very much the same way as the children do. Although the teacher's experience similarly acts as a transaction in space and time, because the adult's function in the classroom is different from the child's having different aims in the education process, the view of the teacher's experience necessitates a clarification of that experience. The totality of the facilitation or transactional process occurs when the teacher's experiences integrate with the child's experiences, resulting in the positive functioning of children and adults in a group learning environment.

Again, we can see that the time dimension (see diagram) of the teacher's experience is unique to that teacher. If the teacher is, for instance, setting up an interest center for an Asian display, what goes into the display and how it is explained depends largely on the teacher's past and the teacher's aspirations for that Asian display. The authenticity and the meaning derived from the Asian display can range from very little to great -- from myths and misinformation about Asians to a wealth of knowledge and understanding. The teacher's time dimension plays a subtle but dramatic role.

The spatial dimension of the teacher's experience plays a very significant, if not most important, role in the teacher's decision-making. The diverse and creative use of the Outer Objective Space (materials, space, time, and human resources) differs with each teacher. However, all of this depends on how the teachers view their particular environment. For example, the human resources -- the pupils -- can be viewed as objects of prescriptive teaching or as competent decision-makers about their own learning.

This immediately leads us to the other spectrum of the spatial dimension, the Inner Subjective Space -- the teacher's values and beliefs about children's learning processes. Whatever decisions are made by the teacher relating to the child's learning experience, important basic values are assumed either consciously or unconsciously. The basic assumptions need to be brought out into awareness and practiced. At this point I would like to suggest five basic assumptions that apply for all children in an educational setting.

Recommended basic assumptions about the child's learning:

. that learning occurs as a result of individual encounters;

*Any adult: (teacher, teacher-aide, parent, volunteer) who is responsible to the children.

- that learning is not necessarily linear and that style of learning is as diverse as the rate of learning;

- that expression is a source of learning, through the arts as well as the other modes of communication;

- that feelings have a legitimate place in the classroom: joy, sadness, disappointment, happiness and anger;

- that children be viewed as competent decision-makers concerning their own learning, trustworthy and desirous of learning.

These five basic assumptions represent an attempt to view each child as a person in his own right. The Asian American children will be able to maximize their potential so long as the programs and curricula are flexible enough to allow for personal responses to the reality of the on-going experiences.

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* A cautionary note: This presentation is not culture free. Although I attempt to view the whole child with linear time dimension, it represents a culture bias. As a point of reference, Zen relates time only in terms of the present. Past and future do not exist. When considering any aspect of curricula, including assessment of teachers, this presents important questions, where any ethnic group is concerned.

Dick Hirabayashi
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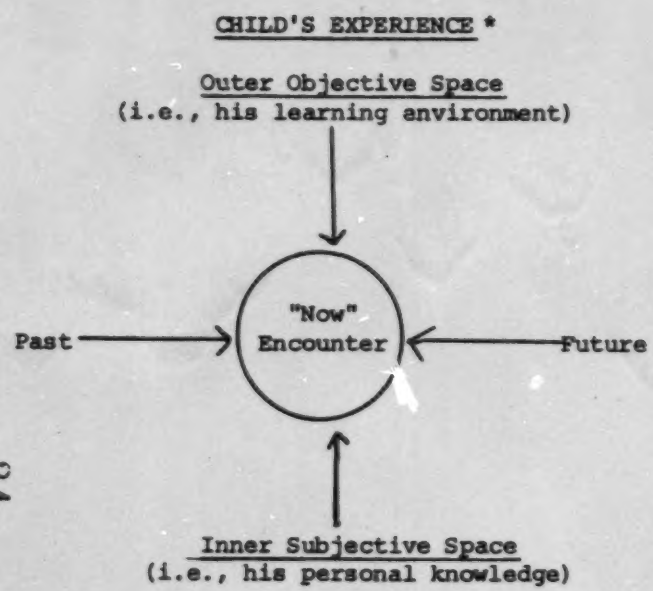
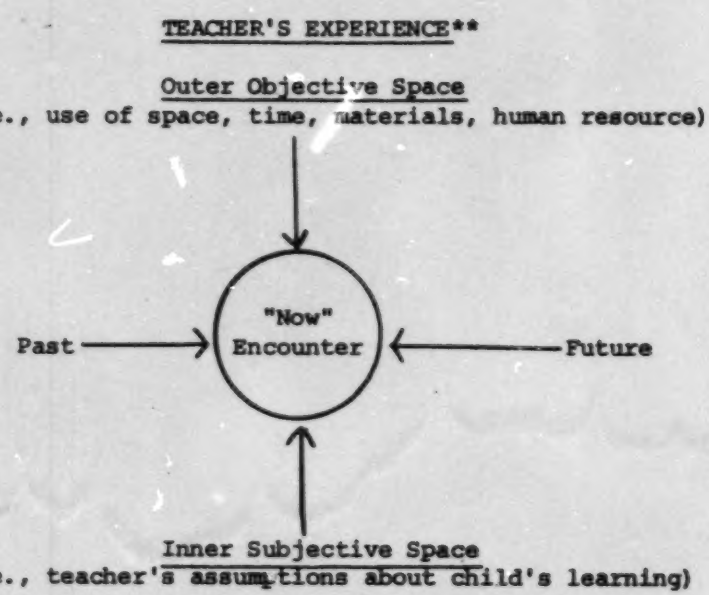
February 18, 1975

EXPERIENCE IS A TRANSACTION IN SPACE AND TIME





* In order to understand the meaning of a child's "now" encounter with that child's immediate environment, we must first understand experience as a transaction in space and time. That is to say, if that child is playing with blocks in a certain way, we must know something about the child's objective and subjective space (spatial dimension), the past/future aspiration (time dimension) and ultimately how they uniquely transact within each particular world of experience.

**Equally important is the awareness and understanding of "our" experience as teachers when we transact with the lives of each child we encounter in that child's world of experience.

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ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLAND PEOPLES

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Asian Americans and Pacific Island peoples have been systematically excluded and ignored in the minority struggle. They are not given any consideration in minority programs or they are given token recognition. The time has come for the general American public to be educated about Chinese, Guamanians, Hawaiians, Indians from Asia, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Samoans, as individual and distinct groups as well as the Asian American and Pacific Islanders' experience as a whole.

The 1970 U.S. Census enumerated 435,000 Chinese, 100,000 Hawaiians, 591,000 Japanese, 70,000 Koreans, and 343,000 Filipinos. The total population of the five ethnic groups is 1,538,000. There was no enumeration for the other Pacific/Asian ethnic groups as separate categories in 1970 so that the 1.5 million Pacific/Asian total is grossly misleading.

The increase in the Pacific/Asian population has been rapid. This has been brought about by a high rate of immigration to the United States from Asian and Pacific countries. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that 22,685 Chinese immigrants, 20,028 Korean immigrants, and 32,867 Filipino immigrants were admitted to the United States in the year ending June 30, 1974. The total from all Asian and Pacific countries is 130,662 for the same year. These figures are not adequately included in the census data.

To understand Asian and Pacific peoples in the United States is to think in terms of diversity. Pacific/Asian peoples must be viewed in terms of cultural and demographic pluralism. Each ethnic group within the general label Asian Americans and Pacific Island peoples has a distinct and unique history, culture, language, religion, physical features, and life-style.

Experiencing racism in America is the common bond among Asian Americans and Pacific Island peoples. In varying degrees they have suffered from all forms of racial barriers: prejudice, discrimination, segregation, isolation, rejection, exclusion, and genocide. In more concrete terms, problems related to employment, housing, immigration, health, human service, youth, elderly, education, legal services, media, consumer practices, economic development, significant participation in the decision-making processes, and many other individual and group problems have been severely experienced by Asian Americans and Pacific Island peoples.

An elaboration of each of the specific issues listed above would be too lengthy. The following are not necessarily priority issues, but it gives the reader some idea of the problems in the Asian and Pacific communities in the United States.

The Elderly

The elderly, particularly in the Asian American communities, are the pion-

eers or the remnants of the first influx of immigrants to the U.S. The history of discrimination against Asians in the United States can be traced through the personal histories and experiences of these first immigrants. The Filipino and Chinese pioneers are mostly male and without families because the law prohibited them from bringing their families here and prevented them from marrying outside their race. The victims of laws prohibiting the granting of citizenship to Asians in effect throughout most of the first half of the century, these persons continue to be at a disadvantage because of their lack of citizenship.

The Youth

Some 429,000 or 31 per cent of Asian Americans have not yet reached 18 years of age. The future of any society depends upon the youth among one's own people. It is deplorable that youth programs and educational opportunities are non-existent in Pacific/Asian communities.

Immigration

In the decade 1960 to 1970, the Pacific/Asian population increased more than 55 per cent while the entire U.S. population increased by 13.3 per cent. This rapid increase was brought about mainly by immigration. Some of the problems experienced by the new immigrants are the following:

(a) The majority of the new immigrants are professionals whose degrees and experience in their respective home countries are not recognized in the U.S. Most of them are underemployed, i.e., employed in positions under their professional standing; and the remaining are unemployed.

(b) The new immigrants have no orientation to the U.S. society and find it extremely difficult to adjust. There are no HEW services geared specially for new immigrants.

Housing

Urban renewal and private developers have destroyed Asian American communities. This wanton disregard for human rights and destruction of life-long earned property have dispersed Asian Americans. This has resulted in the elimination of a geographic community as well as all identifiable communal spirit. Most of the new immigrants congregate in industrial sections of cities where low-cost housing can be found. The security of such residence is hampered by constant threat of eviction and deplorable conditions. The majority of the elderly, especially the single ones without families, reside in run-down hotels which are always under threat of redevelopment or rising cost.

It is time that the general American public became aware of Asian Americans and Pacific Island peoples. Like all ethnic groups in this country Pacific/Asian peoples have grave and deep problems. We are finding solutions for ourselves. We need assistance, not in a paternalistic way, but in a way that assures dignity, integrity, and self-respect for ourselves as a people.

EARLY HISTORY - 1850-1965: THE MEETING OF THE TWAIN

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San Francisco, California, is a singularly appropriate site for a colloquy on Asian Americans. Much of the reaction to Asian immigrants oritinated here. While Kipling's East and West never met, the twain did meet in California. It was here that Dennis Kearney raised the battle cry, "The Chinese must go!" It was here that labor unions excluded Asian Americans from membership. It was here that the sinophobes mounted a successful drive to exclude Chinese and later Asian immigration. It was here that Lau challenged and won a Supreme Court case on societal responsibilities for non-English speaking children.

While we ourselves have not fully defined what constitutes an Asian American, it is clear that the definition of Asian American consists of at least the following: (1) the descendants of immigrants from China, Japan, Korea and the Philippines, Southeast Asia (Thailand, Vietnam), East Asia (Tibet Ryukyu Islands) and Oceania (Samoa, Guam); (2) immigrants from Asia; and (3) children of "mixed" marriages where one of the parents was Asian American. There is continuing dialogue on the inclusion of Asiatic Russia, India, Bangladesh, and South Asia. It is clear that the definition excludes the Middle East, Australia, and New Zealand.

It is evident from this description that there are major diversities in the category "Asian American." A better descriptor would most certainly be Asian American/Pacific Islanders. Beyond that, there are some other major differences not only based on country of origin (see Appendices A-G), but also on time of migration. It is evident from data presented below that some Asian American groups consist of an inordinately large proportion of immigrants (e.g., in 1970, there were 65,000-70,000 Korean Americans; in the period 7/1/72-6/30/73, 23,000 Koreans immigrated to the United States).

Given this diversity of languages and norms and mores, it is evident that to call us all Asian Americans or Asian American/Pacific Islanders implies a homogeneity which is lacking. Aggregation into one category is similar to aggregating the Irish, the Poles, the Swedes, and the Italians into one group - European - and ignoring the vast language and cultural differences.

According to the 1970 Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973), there were 591,000 Japanese Americans, 435,000 Chinese Americans, and 343,000 Filipino Americans. The 1970 Census also estimated 65,000-70,000 Koreans, 100,000 Hawaiians, and 224,000 "other Asian." In other words, there were roughly 1.7 million people identified in the 1970 Census as being of Asian descent. In addition, between 1970 and 1973, 270,000 Asians immigrated to the United States

(Urban Associates, Inc., 1974). In short, there are two million Asian Americans in the United States today, and that number is increasing rapidly (up 16% between 1970 and July, 1973).

In fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, 21,000 Asians immigrated and in fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, 124,000 Asians immigrated.* This represents an increase of 500 per cent. In contrast, immigration from Northern Europe and Canada was down 70 per cent. Since 400,000 people immigrated in fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, immigrants from Asia constituted one-third of the total immigrants. While 70,000 came from Mexico, 31,000 came from the Philippines (No. 2), 23,000 from Korea (No. 4), 22,000 from China (No. 6), and 13,000 from India (No. 8). In the 1950's, one of every five new Americans were immigrants.

Before reviewing the history of Asian Americans from 1850-1965, let me give you a hint of things to come. I have already touched upon the immigration increases since the 1965 Immigration Act. The present immigrants tend to be somewhat different from those who immigrated previously. They tend to consist of women as well as men. Families came with the attendant children rather than single adults. Present immigrants are more highly educated. We have a growing phenomenon which must be accommodated to - large numbers of children for whom English (or, more accurately, American) is not the primary tongue. Lau vs. Nichols (1974) makes it clear that it is a societal responsibility to assist those children. To make this problem even more relevant to the CDA program by Urban Associates, Inc., the 1974 report indicates that 30 per cent of the Japanese American and 24 per cent of the Chinese American children between the ages of three and four are in pre-school programs. The rate for Filipino Americans is at the U.S. norm (15%). What are the implications of high rates of pre-school utilization for pre-school programs? What are the implications of negative and/or missing role models in the media?

History

A quick understanding of the history of Asians in the United States as viewed primarily by non-Asian American historians may be found in the *Pacific Historical Review* 1974.

Archaeology tells us that Asians have been in the Western hemisphere for centuries. Both the modern history of Asians in the United States really begins in about 1850. The migration (or lack thereof) of Asians to the United States may be divided into eight periods:

1. 1849-1882: Heavy Chinese immigration consisting primarily of males, culminating in our first blanket immigration restriction policy - the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Exclusion Act was supported by patriotic groups from both political parties, as well as labor and others. Agitation for Chinese exclusion stemmed primarily from the West Coast and San Francisco was the epicenter. It was this era which saw the passage of numerous anti-Chinese laws: the cubic foot ordinance, foreign miner's tax, and the like. One particularly interesting law

*See Appendix H.

was the laundryman's tax. If laundry was delivered in a vehicle pulled by one horse, the owner paid a tax of $2.00 per quarter, while two horses called for a tax of $4.00 per quarter. Since the Chinese usually had no horses, the tax was $8.00 per quarter if laundry was hand-delivered. By 1876 both political parties had anti-Chinese planks, and Dennis Kearney had organized labor with his "Chinese Must Go!" slogan. The courts had also decreed that no Chinese could testify in a court of law in a case involving whites, and that Chinese were ineligible for naturalization.

2. 1890-1907: Heavy Japanese immigration, primarily male, culminating in the Gentlemen's Agreement whereby Japan agreed to stop passport issuance to non-skilled Japanese males. The Gentlemen's Agreement resulted from a San Francisco School Board decision to segregate students of Japanese ancestry. The Japanese government protested and President Theodore Roosevelt intervened. Rather than the expected hundreds, perhaps thousands of students involved, the government located only about eight dozen Japanese and Japanese American students. Ironically, the government could prevent the segregation of six dozen students because they were Japanese immigrant children, but could do nothing to protect the two dozen Japanese Americans. In exchange for repealing the segregation plans in San Francisco, the Japanese and American governments arrived at the Gentlemen's Agreement.

3. 1907-1924: Heavy Japanese female immigration and heavy Filipino male immigration (1920+), culminating in the Alien Exclusion Act whereby aliens ineligible for citizenship were excluded from immigrating. This period is also characterized by Alien Land Acts which barred aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning or leasing land. It is clear that the Alien Land Acts and the Alien Exclusion Act were aimed primarily at Asians. The Supreme Court of the United States had heard suits involving Asian immigrants who desired naturalization. In each case, the Supreme Court ruled that the 1790 naturalization laws excluded Asians.

4. 1920-1934: Heavy Filipino male immigration. Filipinos as American nationals were unaffected by the 1924 Exclusion Act. In return for a commitment of eventual independence, Filipino immigration was restricted to a quota of 50 per year. Numbers of Filipinos continued immigrating by serving in the United States military primarily as menials like cabin boys and cooks.

5. 1934-1943: Virtually no immigration from Asia.

6. 1943-1952: Chinese immigration opened to 100 per year. In 1943, Chinese were granted naturalization rights. The War Brides Act opened immigration to spouses of American military personnel.

7. 1952-1965: Token quotas of 100 per year given to each country in Asia. The quotas were usually mortgaged into the future and periodically "forgiven" by Congress. Relatives of citizens, war brides, etc., were allowed to immigrate as non-quota immigrants. Naturalization rights were granted to all immigrants in 1952.

8. 1965-1975: Virtual elimination of quotas and large numbers of Asian immigrants admitted.

One of the most significant historical events involving Asian Americans occurred with the signing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, by President Franklin Roosevelt. Executive Order 9066 resulted in the forced confinement of 110,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were American citizens. The effects on the family of the concentration camp experiences of these Americans are well documented elsewhere (see Morishima, 1973, for a fairly extensive bibliography). The evacuation did, however, set precedents and the repeal of Title II of the 1952 Internal Securities Act has not eliminated the potential for another mass evacuation. (Title II allowed the President to isolate any individuals who were thought to be a danger to the internal security of the United States.)

In the Hirabayashi case (1943), the United States Supreme Court ruled that curfews could be declared by the military in the absence of martial law and on the basis of race. This unanimous decision was followed by a split decision in the Korematsu case (1944). The United States Supreme Court declared in effect that the military, in the absence of martial law, could evacuate on the basis of race in order to exclude people from certain geographic areas. While many Japanese Americans were remunerated, the remuneration was on the basis of ten cents on the dollar. Apparently, the government is not required to remunerate fully. Neither is it required to adjust for the inflation of the dollar in determining remuneration. Finally, in the event the government freezes or confiscated money in banks, it apparently is not required to repay the money in full, nor is it required to pay interest (cases involving the Yokohama Species Bank).

Prejudice and discrimination against Asian Americans is, unfortunately, not a matter only of historical concern. Many of you realize that discrimination has become more subtle and is deeply ingrained in our institutions. Until Griggs vs. Duke Power (1971) and its implications, Asian Americans and Chicanos, for example, found it almost impossible to be employed as fire fighters and police officers because of minimal height requirements. In a document entitled *Discrimination Against Asians,* the State of Washington's Governor's Asian American Advisory Council, (1973), documents the discrimination faced by many Asian Americans.

A careful reading of such documents as Schmid, Nobbe, and Mitchell (1968), Social Security Administration (1974), Urban Associates, Inc. (1974), Sue and Wagner (1973), and Sue and Kitano (1974) will clearly demonstrate that the Asian Americans are the forgotten or ignored minority in the United States. In many instances, for example, legislation which benefits minorities does not mention Asian Americans. The Ford Foundation minority fellowships are not open to Asian Americans. Both white and non-white Americans have accepted the myth of the Asian American "success" story.

Asian Americans have contributed much to the United States, particularly on the West Coast. Few if any of these contributions are transmitted to youngsters in our pre-school through high school programs. We have contributed in transportation, agriculture, forest products, mining, fishing, small business, manufacturing, unionization, architecture, and countless other fields. In spite of these obvious contributions, our children do not receive a sense of pride in being Asian Americans because the school curricula tend to ignore us.

It is evident that we Asian Americans are non-white Americans. We are treated as being non-white. We have pride in our Asian heritage and in our American heritage. We face, as non-white Americans, many of the problems faced by our Third World brothers and sisters.

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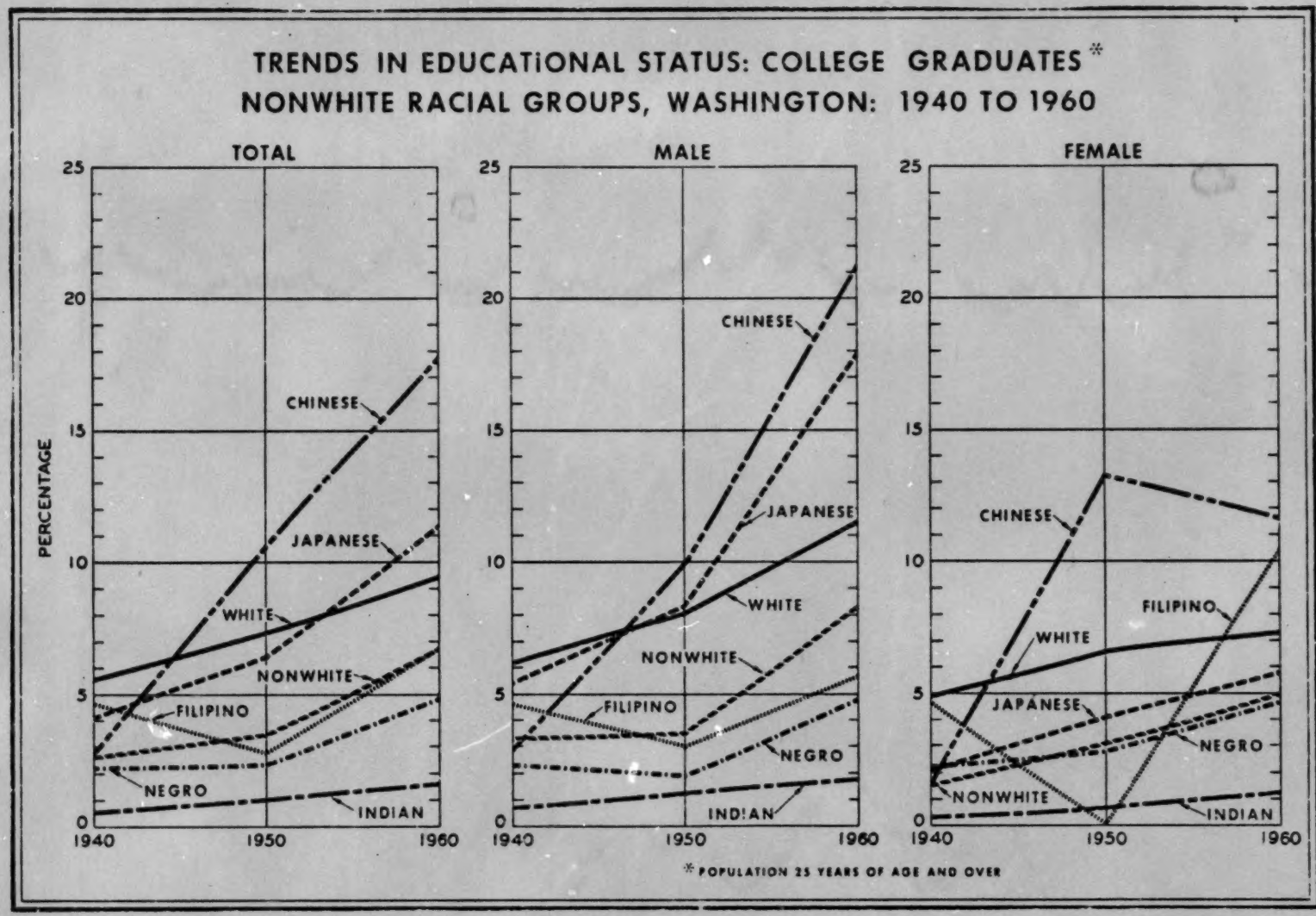
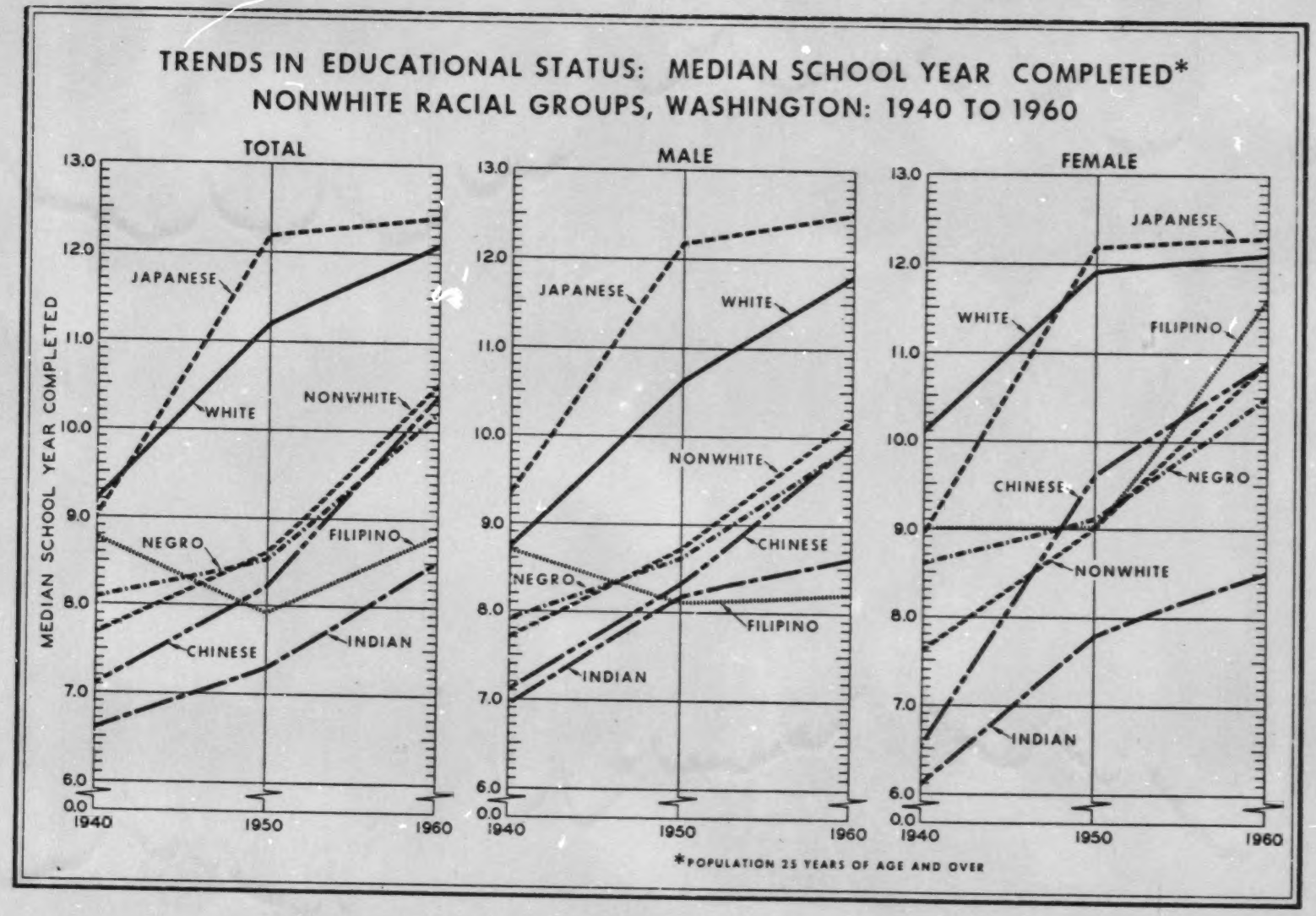
NOTE: Appendices A-G are from Schmid, C.F., Nobbe, C.E., and Mitchell, A.E. *Nonwhite Races: State of Washington*. Olympia, Washington: Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency, 1968.

Unfortunately, this report has not been replicated with 1970 census data nor does it extend beyond the state of Washington.

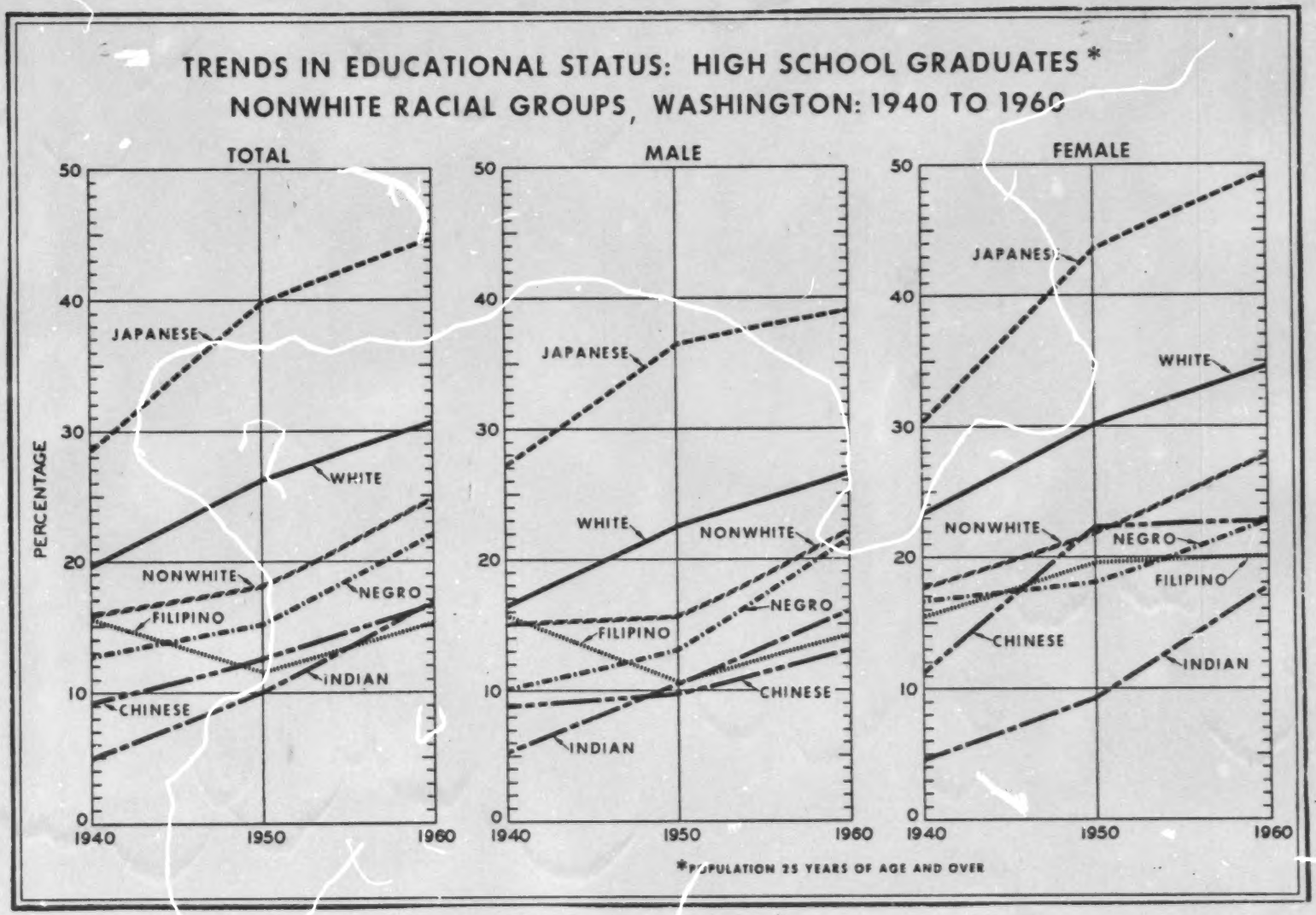
APPENDIX A


TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL STATUS: COLLEGE GRADUATES*
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960
TOTAL
MALE
FEMALE
PERCENTAGE
25
20
15
10
5
0
1940
1950
1960
CHINESE
JAPANESE
WHITE
NONWHITE
FILIPINO
NEGRO
INDIAN
* POPULATION 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

APPENDIX B

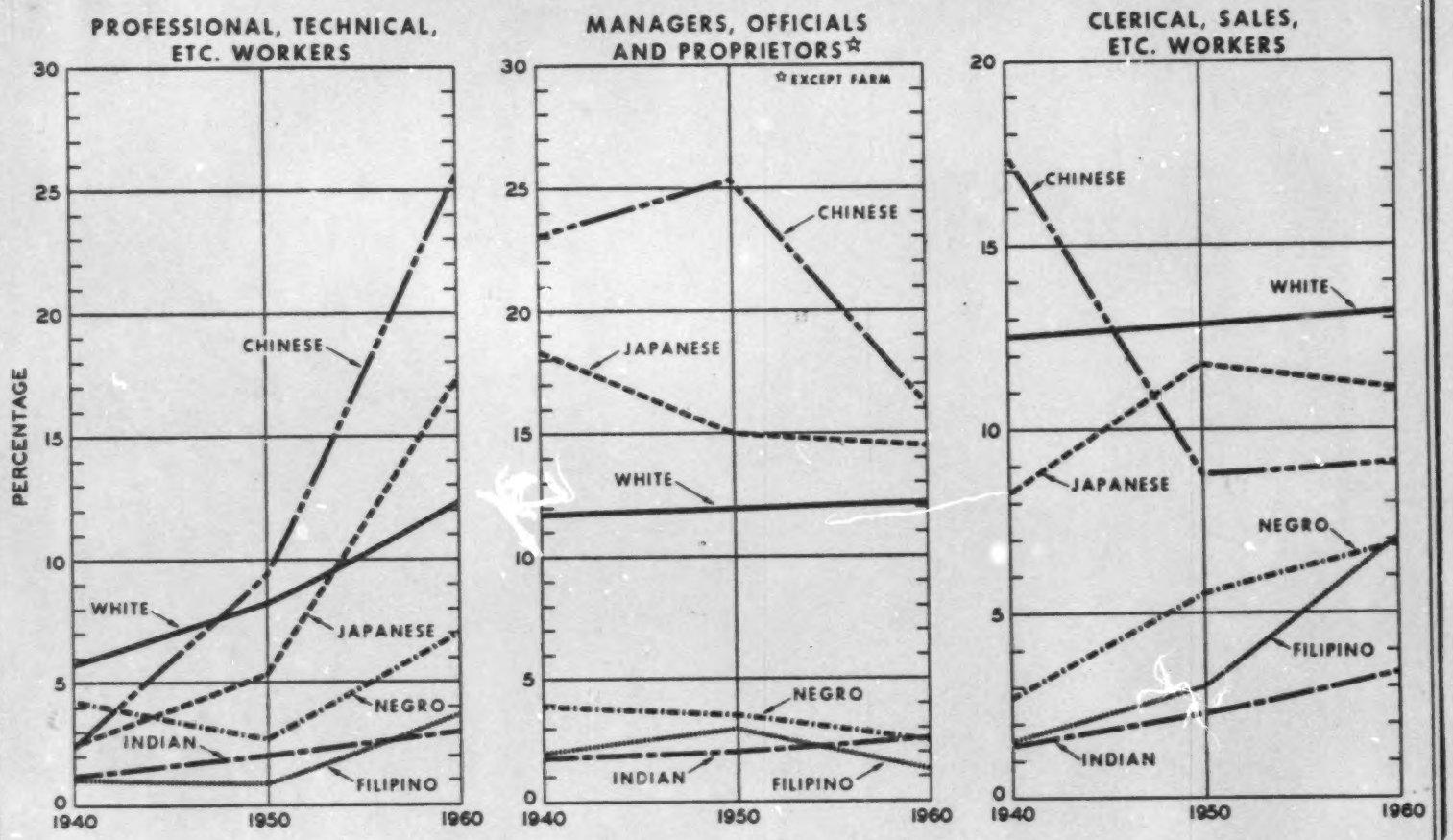

TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL STATUS: MEDIAN SCHOOL YEAR COMPLETED*
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960
TOTAL
MALE
FEMALE
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEAR COMPLETED
13.0
12.0
11.0
10.0
9.0
8.0
7.0
6.0
0.0
1940
1950
1960
JAPANESE
WHITE
NONWHITE
NEGRO
FILIPINO
CHINESE
INDIAN
*POPULATION 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

APPENDIX C


TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL STATUS: HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES *
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960
TOTAL
MALE
FEMALE
PERCENTAGE
50
40
30
20
10
0
1940
1950
1960
JAPANESE
WHITE
NONWHITE
NEGRO
FILIPINO
INDIAN
CHINESE
*POPULATION 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

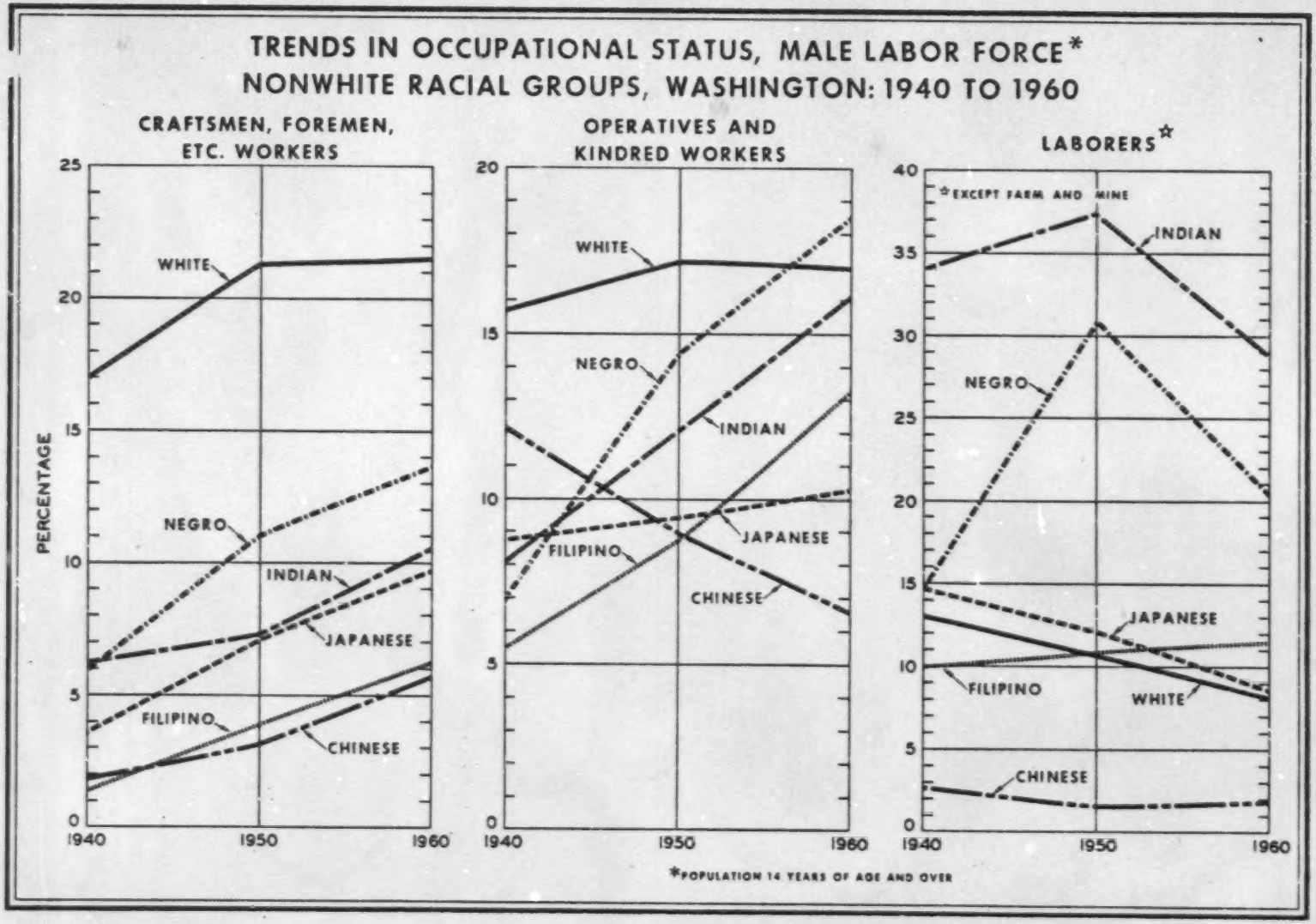
APPENDIX D

TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: MALE LABOR FORCE*
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960



*POPULATION 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

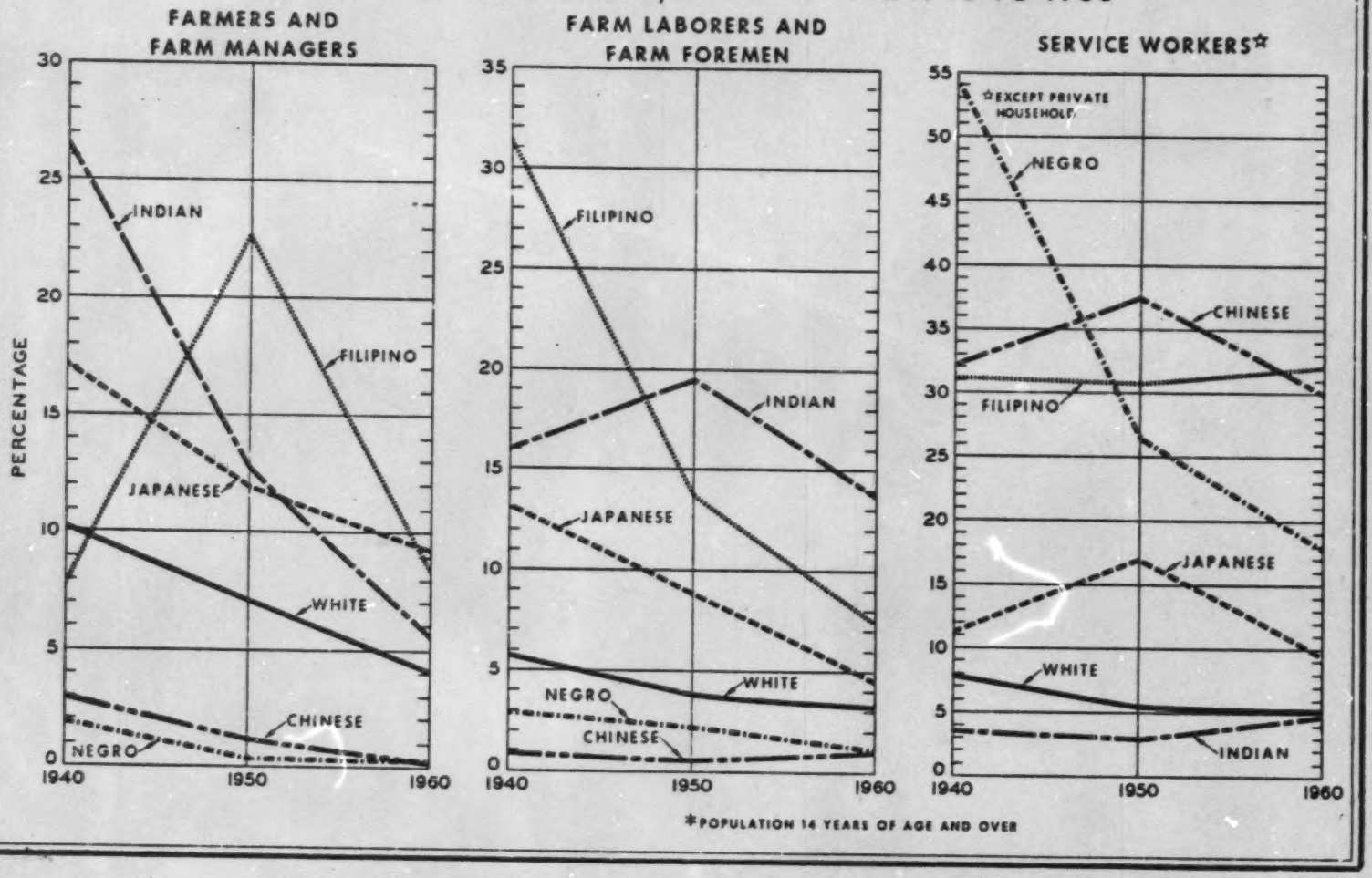
APPENDIX E


TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, MALE LABOR FORCE*
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960
CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, ETC. WORKERS
OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS
LlaborERS☆
☆EXCEPT FARM AND MINE
PERCENTAGE
WHITE
NEGRO
INDIAN
JAPANESE
FILIPINO
CHINESE
1940
1950
1960
*POPULATION 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

APPENDIX F

46

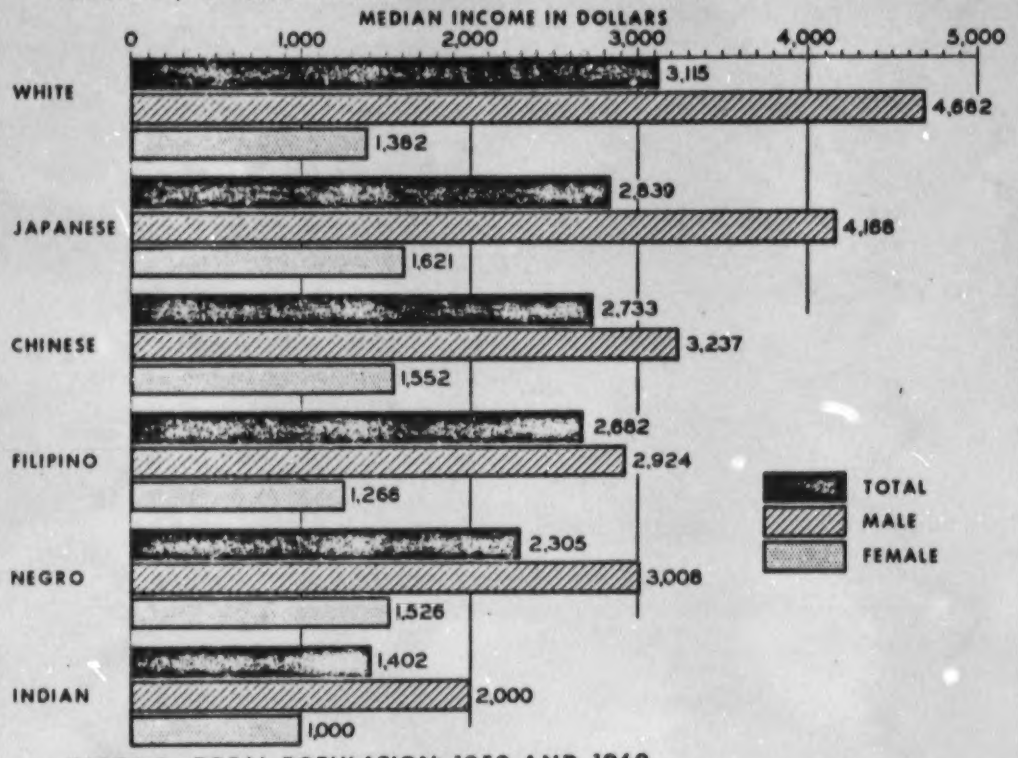
TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: MALE LABOR FORCE*
NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS, WASHINGTON: 1940 TO 1960

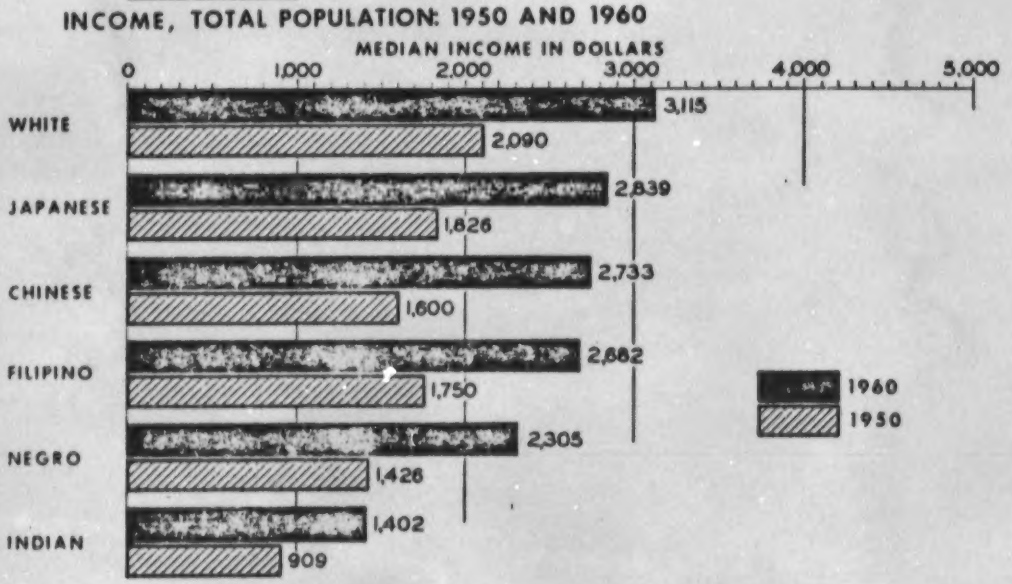


*POPULATION 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

APPENDIX G

MEDIAN INCOME, NONWHITE RACIAL GROUPS WASHINGTON: 1950 AND 1960





APPENDIX H

APPENDIX H

IMMIGRATION FROM SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES FOR FISCAL YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1965-1973:

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Phillipines	3,130	6,093	10,865	16,731	20,744
China (Taiwan & Hong Kong)	4,769	17,608	25,096	16,434	20,893
Korea	2,165	2,492	3,756	3,811	6,045
Japan	3,180	3,394	3,946	3,613	3,957

Change in Immigration Laws

1970	1971	1972	1973
31,203	28,471	29,376	30,799
17,956	17,622	21,730	21,656
9,314	14,297	18,876	22,930
4,485	4,457	4,757	5,461

ROLE MODELS FOR ASIAN AMERICAN CHILDREN AS PORTRAYED BY THE MASS MEDIA

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Positive role models do not exist in the mass media for Asian American children. Asian Americans are consistently portrayed in a negative, stereotypic manner by the mass media. This condescending treatment of Asians and Asian Americans is both sexist and racist. Such treatment reflects the dominant society's limited perception and knowledge of different cultures, languages, religious beliefs and social mores. Asian Americans as well as other racial/ethnic groups are lumped together by the dominant society without regard to the unique socio-cultural, socio-economic and value systems that influence the development and continuation of distinctive sub-cultures in the United States. The mass media portrays Asian Americans and Asians as one homogeneous group, i.e., as perpetual "foreigners." In fact, the media subliminally suggests that to be "American," one must eat certain foods, drive certain cars, use certain toothpastes, engage in certain family and individual activities, etc. Acceptance into the "homogenized" mainstream means processing until a stage called "Americanization" has been reached. Difference has not been kindly tolerated, but has been accorded the label of deviant, aberrant behavior from the norm, i.e., the dominant society's normative behavior standards of white, middle class and Christian.

The mass media does not provide for realistic role models of Asian Americans or Asians for children or adult audiences in general. Asian American children suffer directly because their self-esteem is greatly damaged by such unrealistic and patronizing role portrayals. Asian American children suffer embarrassment because they feel that their culture, language, values, etc. are rejected and ridiculed by the mass media and society. The media, nonetheless, continues to romanticize Asian Americans and Asians, their culture, history and experiences. The resulting role models are mythical and comical caricatures of simplistic, mysterious Asian Americans and Asians.

Asian and Asian American male stereotypes include: "obsequious," "sly," "devious," "distrustful," "non-verbal," "lecherous," "non-English speaking," "stupid," "overly formal" and "deceptive." Asian American female stereotypes include: "exotic," "mysterious," "demure," "submissive," "petite," "quiet," ad nauseum.

A sub-stratum of stereotyping concerns itself with the labels given to Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans. Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans are considered to be "model minorities." Both are portrayed as being "highly respected" for their "outstanding achievements and accomplishments" and for the acceptance they have "earned" from others in the face of racial hostility and prejudice. Both are regarded as having "pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps" in the best tradition of the Puritan Ethic. Both are distinguished from the other racial/ethnic groups who have not worked hard enough to "realize" the "Great American Dream."

Other Asian American and Asian groups are totally excluded by the mass media. Korean American, Samoan, Guamanian and Filipino Americans are virtually ignored. This exclusion by the mass media and other institutions belies the diversity of the Asian American communities in the United States. Each Asian American group has differing concerns, needs, problems, and has made singularly important contributions to society, yet these are not recognized by the dominant society.

The historical, social, economic and political experiences of each Asian American group are distinct because of differing influences that affected reasons for and time of immigration to the United States. Consequently, one can find differences in the socio-economic strata among and within ethnic groups in various geographic locations. One can find upper-, middle- and lower-income Asian Americans as well as differences in Asian American educational achievement. One can also find different needs and concerns for education within each community. Differences exist in employment opportunities, employment skills, interests, etc. Generational differences between recent immigrants, citizens, young and old can also be found. Closely associated with generational differences, one can find distinctive political persuasions, i.e., radical, conservative, reactionary, moderate and liberal. Asian Americans reside in Colorado, Pennsylvania, New York, Washington, D.C., Maryland, Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Arizona, California, Utah, Iowa, Hawaii, etc.; whereas Asians reside in various countries in Asia. Diversity is evident, yet the mass media portrays Asian Americans and Asians as one group.

The mass media attempts to project a positive image of the "American way of life," while it excludes or demeans a significant population which reflects that actual diversity characteristic of the United States.

Historically, the media has misrepresented Asians and Asian Americans and has distorted the reality of their experiences and life-styles. The mass media influences the ways in which we think and act and actually determines what we believe about ourselves, our peers, and other societies and cultures. In itself, the mass media has helped to perpetrate institutional racism and sexism and has nurtured feelings of xenophobia, intolerance and ignorance.

For example, from the onset of filmmaking, Asians in Asia or Asian Americans in the U.S. have been portrayed as bumbling fools. Film episodes in the Charlie Chan, Chinese detective series, are full of racist and sexist stereotyping. Charlie Chan has become the legendary Chinese detective with his slanted eyes, silly mustache, pidgin' English accent and cliche-ridden Confucian "wisdom." Yet Charlie Chan was never Chinese or portrayed by an Asian American or Asian actor. Charlie Chan's ubiquitous "number one son" was always portrayed as a comic buffoon, a stupid, banal, obsequious fool.

The movie, "The Good Earth," is another example of racist and sexist stereotypes. The principal characters were non-Asian and the movie portrayed the Chinese in a contrived manner which was allegedly supposed to represent Chinese culture, customs and behavior. "Tea House of the August Moon," "The King and I," "Bridge Over the River Kwai," "The World of Susie Wong," "Thoroughly Modern Millie" and all the World War II movies that portrayed the enemy "Japs" as villainous, evil and unscrupulous are examples of how the mass media ascribed

roles to Asian Americans and Asians. A more contemporary example can be found in a recent interview with Peter Ustinov in which he made the comment that it was difficult to play a bumbling Chinese because he could not keep his eyes slanted.

Television continues the legacy of the movies by perpetuating the stereotypic and negative portrayals of Asians and Asian Americans in programming and commercials. Asians in 1975 are still portrayed as Kung Fu and karate experts, and they are still being played by non-Asian actors. The Chinese detective motif is now being offered by television in the new series, "Khan." This time although the detective is played by an Asian actor, the script nonetheless is stereotypic, demeaning and totally unrealistic. For example, Khan lives in a penthouse in San Francisco's Chinatown with his phenomenal "super-achieving" son and daughter. Khan lives in splendor amidst the everyday reality of the problems of poverty - inadequate housing, unemployment, discrimination, etc. - that plague Chinese Americans and immigrants living in Chinatown. Moreover, the profession of detective is not common amongst Chinese Americans.

Television commercials abound with stereotypes as well. For example, laundry products are given a Chinese motif of ancient cleaning secrets; frozen vegetable products become invitations to enter the exotic world of the "Orient"; cars are being sold by heavily-accented Asian midgets, etc. Commericals of this nature tend to ossify the image that most individuals have of Asians and Asian Americans rather than provide an accurate portrayal of the actual role and participation of Asians and Asian Americans in contemporary society.

Television news coverage is not free of stereotyping and negative value judgments. News coverage still portrays Asian ways as being foreign to the U.S. and Europe, as demonstrated in the coverage of the state visits to Mainland China and Japan. Coverage of the wars in Cambodia, Vietnam, etc. is influenced by lack of understanding and knowledge about the political, social and economic dynamics that are operative in a specific cultural context in Asian countries. News coverage of this nature smacks of Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden."

Prior to and during World War II, "yellow journalism and jingoism" were the by-words of U.S. newspapers and radio. The function of "yellow journalism and jingoism" was to create and instill an irrational fear of the Japanese. Fear and hatred was to be directed against the different looking, different acting yellow people who were to be treated as the common enemy. The effect of yellow journalism culminated in the relocation and internment of 110,000 Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans; three-fourths of whom were citizens of the United States, but who were denied the Constitutional guarantee of due process. An example of yellow journalism can be found in an article that was published to assist people in the easy identification of Japanese people. Japanese Americans were described as being short, squat, having high cheekbones and small eyes, whereas Chinese Americans were described as being tall, thin, having larger eyes and lower cheekbones. This was done so that people did not mistake one Asian for another since they all look alike.

Current newspaper coverage has distorted the truth about the actual extent of investment in the U.S. by Japanese corporations and industry. Articles and feature stories infer that the Japanese have unlimited wealth and are swooping down to buy up America. In fact, Canada and West Germany have greater dollar

investments in the U.S. yet there are no articles raising fear of economic take-over by Canada or West Germany. Moreover, Japanese industry and corporations were forced by the U.S. government to invest in the U.S. to decrease the U.S. trade deficit.

Newspaper coverage of the efforts of the Animal Protection Institute's Project Jonah to save the whales has distorted the role of the Japanese industry and government. Newspaper coverage has promoted racist images of the Japanese whaling industry and has portrayed the Japanese people as callous and mercenary. The intent of Project Jonah is not questioned; however, the inaccuracy of press coverage leads to distortion of the truth and has resulted in vicious demonstrations before the Japanese Consul in San Francisco and in the adjacent Japanese Cultural and Trade Center, where protestors told Japanese American shoppers to "Go Back Home, Japs." Children in the classroom were also subjected to harassment, racial slurs and jokes because the Japanese people were portrayed as being mean to kill the whales. The emphasis has been on Japan's role without including the USSR, the other whaling country. There are numerous other countries who engage in whaling and are not even signatories to the Whaling Agreement to honor the quota of whales that can be legally hunted. Moreover, the dietary, nutritional and geographic implications are rarely discussed in the treatment of the whaling issue by the press.

Billboard advertisements, such as those issued by the ILWU and the Electrical Workers' Union are racist and stereotypic. They are racist because they single out for attack products imported from Japan and the laborers entering the U.S. as technicians, without regard to other imported products and laborers. Advertisements which encourage the public to "Buy American" establish the idea that there is a distinct and imminent danger to "Buy Japanese." Moreover, advertisements of such a nature ignore the distinction between Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans, their role and contributions. Hostility that exists toward Japan causes anger and confusion for a person of Japanese ancestry in the United States.

Like advertisements and the rest of the mass media, instructional materials and textbooks influence the attitudes and knowledge that children acquire. Thus, instructional materials and textbooks are included as an additional dimension to media efforts and coverage.

Most instructional materials and textbooks are mass produced by large publishing firms who are insensitive to and ignorant about the diversity that exists in various communities, the Asian American community being one. Most materials in language arts and social science are sexist and racist in the role models provided for children in an educational setting. In most instances, the two Asian American groups that are included - albeit the treatment is spotty - are Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans. So far as other Asian American communities are concerned, they are once again completely excluded. Moreover, in the presentation of materials pertaining to Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, there is a dismal failure to distinguish between cultural heritage and contemporary subculture and experiences. Most often the contributions and roles of Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans are reduced to a minimum, not because of a deficiency on the part of the Asian Americans, but rather due to a

deficiency in knowledge and accurate information about Asia, Asian Americans and Asians on the part of the publishers.

An assessment of the mass media reveals that the role models that the media may provide to Asian American children are poor, at best. The effects of these negative role models and portrayals by the media has a detrimental effect upon all children, but it is particularly devastating to Asian American children. Much difficulty has arisen regarding the development of positive self-concepts among Asian American children. Many of them characterize the frustration and confusion they feel as a crisis in identity that goes beyond their stage of maturational development. This leads to a crisis in understanding and appreciating their racial/cultural identity and heritage in relationship to the dominant society's expectations and intolerant attitudes. Asian American children are bombarded by the stereotypic and negative portrayals that the mass media produces and that the educational system accepts. This information is in direct contradiction to the values and patterns of behavior that their families and communities hold. Consequently, Asian American children are caught in a twilight zone - on one hand they are expected to excel in the ways of the dominant society and on the other are expected at the same time to retain their cultural heritage without the benefit of supportive influences from the mass media or educational systems.

Fortunately, efforts are being undertaken by various Asian American groups, organizations and individuals to eliminate negative and stereotypic portrayals by the mass media. Anti-defamation efforts are still necessary because of the pervasive historical roots of institutionalized racism. It is, therefore, critical that the CDA Consortium address these concerns and make a concerted effort to encourage and assist those persons charged with the responsibilities of teaching the young. These persons must divest themselves of the ignorance and intolerance that has been perpetuated by the mass media and the educational system itself, in order that children, Asian American as well as others, can acquire positive self-concepts and strong identities and can function effectively in our changing society.

ROLE MODELS FOR ASIAN CHILDREN

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Far West Laboratory for Research
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It is difficult to address the topic of this paper without an attempt to clarify some of the underlying assumptions which are implied in the title. These assumptions are as follows:

(1) that there are specific, clearly-defined role models in an Asian society;

(2) that these models are recognized and accepted by all Asian children;

(3) that these models are in some way peculiar or distinct from the models derived in other societies.

If we were to proceed on the basis of these assumptions, it would be possible to state a position regarding role models for Asian children. Indeed, this has been the approach used in the past by various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and psychology.

Clearly, the general assumptions underlying the title are not appropriate to our task today. They are much too broad in scope to be dealt with in a ten-minute paper. Further, it would be both uncomfortable and presumptuous to place myself in the position of an "authority" on Asian role models and to deliver a "Now hear this!" type of statement. At the same time, I recognize the need to share some of our experiences and insights with one another and to mutually explore the understandings that a particular cultural group may provide for its children.

The first understanding I would like to focus on is the element of historical perspective. In any cultural group the development of behavioral models occurs over a period of time, sometimes in a few years (e.g., our current redefinition of sex roles), and in others, a number of generations. This element of time is of critical importance in our efforts to understand role models for recent immigrant populations. As a Japanese American, I am a member of such a group and it may be helpful to use our experiences as an example of what might happen to the role models of an immigrant group during the period of a few generations.

The first generation of Japanese Americans are known as the Issei (a contraction of the words "ichi," meaning "one" or "first" and "sei," meaning generation) and the present age range of the majority of this group is in the senior citizen category. Although many of them have learned enough English to qualify for citizenship, their daily language is Japanese. This first generation represents the closest approximation to the family role models attributed to the

Japanese culture: i.e., the authoritarian role of the father, the nurturant role of the mother, the role of the eldest son, the relationship among siblings, etc. These kinship roles are identified and intensified by the language itself so that one is not just a sister or a brother, but "elder-sister" or "younger-brother" and the expectations from other siblings and relatives differ according to their position in the family structure even into adulthood. For example, during a recent trip to Japan, I observed my 75-year-old uncle (head of a large family of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren) defer to my mother because she was his "o-nei-san" (honorable elder sister). Thus, to the extent that these ideas of family structure are viable in succeeding generations, they would have a strong impact on the young child's sense of his own importance; i.e., with the exception of the youngest child, every child in the family is looked up to and respected as "elder brother" or "elder sister." Further, the youngest child is also protected because it is cherished as the baby of the family.

The second generation of Japanese Americans are called the Nisei ("ni" meaning "two" or "second") and they were born and raised in this country. This is the generation which has made it into the middle-class stratum of American society. It offers a classical example of a group using education for upward mobility. In the process of doing so, they have been referred to as "the perfect minority" and "the quiet Americans." From another point of view, they have also been called "yellow WASPS" and "bananas," i.e., yellow on the outside and white on the inside. Thus, according to many authorities in ethnic studies (e.g., Edison Uno of San Francisco State University), for this generation of Japanese Americans the role models are not based on Asian models, but are primarily derived from the larger society. The extent to which this is true is open to speculation. Suffice it to say that, although the Japanese show reverence for older people, you will note that I, as a Nisei, have carefully omitted any age ranges for my generation group (!).

The third generation (Sansei) are perhaps the most articulate of the Japanese American groups. They have generally been raised in middle-class circumstances and many of them have lived mostly in white, middle-class neighborhoods and have gone to school with white, middle-class friends. It is perhaps this intimate knowledge of the larger society that is helping them to re-examine their own particular role in the society of today. It has been noted that it is only when you are near the top of the ladder, that you notice the number of rungs you still need to climb. Thus, the Sansei are not content with their parents' low-profile progress toward assimilation. Indeed, along with the young adults of other cultural minorities, the Sansei are questioning whether assimilation is the name of the game, or whether cultural pluralism may not be a more viable alternative. They are beginning to assert an ethnic identity and a deeper appreciation for their cultural heritage.

Thus, the children of the present or fourth generation of Japanese Americans (Yonsei) have a variety of role models available to them, so that as in any other culture, a particular child needs to be viewed in the context of his own family and community.

With this historical perspective in mind, I would like to present some aspects of the Japanese American culture which may affect our work as educators of young children and to raise some questions and issues.

(A) We are all familiar with the high value placed on education and the strong sense of respect toward teachers. This attitude is reflected in the word for teacher, "Sensei," which may be translated as "one who has lived before." It implies that the teacher is one who has had previous experience and has acquired knowledge. The reverence for knowledge extends beyond the usual academic areas, so that the word "Sensei" is used to address masters in fields such as painting, lacquer work, flower arrangement, dance, wood carving, etc. In recent years, the drive for upward mobility in the Japanese American group has limited the role of the teacher to that of an instructor in academic subjects such as reading and math and this raises the following issues:

Question 1: How many teachers accept the stereotype that "all Japanese American children are good students"? Are there any problems with a positive stereotype?

Question 2: What do we as educators use as criteria for a "good student?

Question 3: What happens to the child who does not meet the expectations of both his/her teacher and his/her parents?

Question 4: Why is it that there are almost no outstanding Japanese American models in fields such as drama and sports?

(B) The second aspect for discussion is the value placed by the culture on belonging to a group. This includes various concepts such as "on" (a sense of obligation or duty; a respect for authority) and "haji" (a strong sense of shame in which individual failure is a reflection on the family and the community). The young child is constantly exhorted to view his behavior in terms of how it would be perceived by others. Further, he has a responsibility to his parents, family and community to avoid bringing "shame" to their name. This strong emphasis on group membership creates some problems such as the following:

Question 1: In what ways is the child's self-concept affected?

Question 2: What are the implications if a child "fails" at a task?

Question 3: How do these aspects affect risk-taking behaviors?

Question 4: In what ways might the parents react to a poor report on their child?

(C) The third aspect to be considered is in the personal behaviors which are valued by the culture. As a corollary to the group-membership values in item B, there is the concept "enryo" which dictates that it is impolite to be aggressive in the sense of pushing oneself forward beyond the group. The young child is taught to have a low profile and to be unobtrusive. He may say "No, thank you" to an offer of candy (even if he wants it) because he is told not to act in a greedy manner. The child then assumes that the offer will be made again. Again, he may not insist on having his turn on the swing. Further, if he has a fight with other children, he will get little sympathy from his parents because he should not have been fighting.

These behaviors raise some questions such as the following:

Question 1: What would happen to the leadership potential of the child?

Question 2: What are the implications if the parents are upset with the teacher or the school. Would they insist or demand that changes be made?

It is apparent that many of these aspects of the Japanese culture apply equally well to other cultures. However, it is the intensity with which they are espoused and the degree to which the school and the family reinforce each other that is the primary issue. As an early childhood educator, it is my hope that we may provide a role which is supportive to the child; and that as his advocate, we may mediate the process of learning so that he may be free to be himself/herself and able to make his/her own choice in a changing world.